

Message Text

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC 8714

INFO AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY NICOSIA

C O N F I D E N T I A L ANKARA 2764

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y PARA 11 LINE 6

FOR THE SECRETARY FROM MACOMBER

EO 11652 GDS

TAGS: PFOR, PINT, CY, GR, TU

SUBJECT: MEETING WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL

REF: STATE 76159

1. I MET WITH FONMIN CAGLAYANGIL AT 1200 MONDAY, APRIL 7 TO DELIVER YOUR LATEST MESSAGE. HE BEGAN HIS RESPONSE BY SAYING THAT HE WOULD BE GLAD TO RECEIVE MR HARTMAN AS YOUR EMISSARY, BUT ASKED ME WHETHER THE HARTMAN ROLE WOULD BE ONE OF A MEDIATOR BETWEEN THE PARTIES, OR RATHER THAT OF "FEELING THE GROUND" IN BOTH ANKARA AND ATHENS. I SAID I THOUGHT THE EMPHASIS WOULD BE ON THE LATTER.

2. THE FONMIN SAID THAT HE HAS ALWAYS BELIEVED THAT THE CYPRUS PROBLEM MUST BE SETTLED BY THE NEGOTIATING PROCESS. THE PROBLEM WITH THE GREEKS WAS THAT THEY BASICALLY WANT TURKEY TO COMPLETELY CHANGE ITS POSITION. IF THIS IS NOT POSSIBLE, HE SAID, THEN THEY WANT, AT THE BEGINNING OF THE NEGOTIATIONS, TO KNOW WHAT THEY CAN GET AT ITS END. BUT
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NEGOTIATIONS MEAN BY DEFINITION THAT THE PARTIES WILL MEET SOME-

WHERE IN THE MIDDLE. NEGOTIATIONS ARE NOT AN EXERCISE IN ULTIMATUMS; THERE MUST BE GIVE AND TAKE ON BOTH SIDES. NEITHER, HE EMPHASIZED, CAN EXPECT THE OTHER TO START BY DECLARING CONCESSIONS.

3. CYPRUS WAS NOT, CAGLAYANGIL ADDED, THE ONLY PROBLEM BETWEEN GREECE AND TURKEY. HOWEVER, IT WAS A SUBJECT WHICH PUT AN INDEPENDENT AND VERY HEAVY BURDEN ON GREEK AND TURKISH RELATIONS. THERE WERE ALSO, HOWEVER, SERIOUS CONTROVERSIES OVER THE CONTINENTAL SHELF, TURKISH MINORITIES LIVING IN GREECE AND VICE-VERSA, AND OTHER PROBLEMS. SOLUTIONS TO ALL OF THESE PROBLEMS WOULD BE VERY "USEFUL" TO BOTH COUNTRIES.

4. DURING THE PREVIOUS SIX YEARS WHEN HE HAD BEEN FOREIGN MINISTER, CAGLAYANGIL CONTINUED, HE HAD DIRECTED A GREAT DEAL OF PERSONAL EFFORT TO SOLVING GREEK/TURKISH PROBLEMS. TOUMBAS AND PIPINELIS HAD RESPONDED CONSTRUCTIVELY AND RESPONSIBLY TO THIS EFFORT, AND WM LE CYPRUS HAD REMAINED AS "A QUESTION" IT HAD NOT BEEN, DURING THIS PERIOD, A "BLEEDING WOUND." IF THE JUNTA HAD NOT SUBSEQUENTLY COME TO POWER, CAGLAYANGIL SAIDON AND MADE IMPORTANT MISCALCULATIONS, GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS WOULD NOT BE WHAT THEY ARE TODAY.

5. KARAMANLIS, CAGLAYANGIL CONTINUED, IS ENTERING A NEW ERA AND MUST ERASE THE SCARS OF THE REGIME WHICH HAD LASTED FOR SEVEN YEARS. AT THE SAME TIME, THE NEW GREEK GOVERNMENT IS FACING IMPORTANT ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL PROBLEMS. IT WOULD BE AHMHAME, HE SAID, IF KARAMANLIS HAD TO SPEND HALF OF EACH DAY ON PROBLEMS OF GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS. CAGLAYANGIL THEN MADE THE POINT THAT IN MANY WAYS, A QUITE SIMILAR SITUATION OBTAINED IN TURKEY. FOLLOWING A LONG PERIOD OF PARALYSIS WHAT WAS NOW EMERGING HERE WAS THE ONLY GOVERNMENT WHICH COULD COMEQH OF THE PRESENT TURKISH PARLIAMENT AND IT, LIKE ITS GREEK COUNTERPART, FACES SERIOUS DOMESTIC PROBLEMS. IT WOULD BE A SIMILAR TRAGEDY IF, FOLLOWING A SUCCESSFUL VOTE OF CONFIDENCE, THE NEW TURKISH GOVERNMENT HAD TO SPEND HALF OF EACH DAY ON GREEK/TURKISH RELATIONS.

6. CAGLAYANGIL NEXT SAID THAT HE WANTED YOUR TO KNOW THAT HE WAS KEENLY AWARE THAT IN THE PAST THE GOVERNMENTS OF GREECE AND TURKEY

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HAD ALWAYS OBTAINED VERY POSITIVE RESULTS WHENEVER THEY COOPERATED TOGETHER, AND CONVERSELY, THAT THEY RECEIVED NEGATIVE RESULTS WHENEVER THEY FACED SERIOUS PROBLEMS IN THEIR RELATIONSHIPS. THE NEW GOVERNMENT OF TURKEY FULLY RECOGNIZED THAT "IT WAS HIGH TIME, AND A MOST APPROPRIATE TIME," TO RECONCILE THE INTERESTS OF THE TWO PARTIES.

7. AFTER CONCLUDING THESE REMARKS WITH THE REQUEST THAT I

"KINDLY CONVEY THESE THOUGHTS TO DR. KISSINGER," OUR CONVERSATION TURNED (A) TO PROSPECTS FOR AN AFFIRMATIVE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE AND (B) TO THE AEGEAN. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT IT PRESENTLY LOOKED AS THOUGH THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE WOULD COME NEXT FRIDAY AND HE EXPRESSED STRONG OPTIMISM THAT THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WOULD GETS IT AFFIRMATIVE VOTE.

8. AS FOR THE CURRENT SITUATION IN THE AEGEAN, CAGLAYANGIL INDICATED THAT HE HAD NOT HAD TIME FOR EXTENSIVE BRIEFINGS, BUT HE STRESSED THAT THE GOT WAS DEEPLY CONCERNED BY THE GREEKS HAVING ARMED THE ISLANDS. "THAT IS A FACT: NO ONE CAN DENY IT," CAGLAYANGIL SAID, AND NOTED THAT THE GOT HAD INFORMED ALL OF THE PARTIES TO THE TREATY OF PARIS OF ITS CONCERN. THIS ACTION BY THE GOT, HE EMPHASIZED, CONSTITUTES A CLEAR PROVOCATION. NEVER IN ITS EARLIER HISTORY, HE SAID, HAD ANATOLIA BEEN UNDER ONE SOVEREIGNTY WHILE THESE ISLANDS AT ITS DOORSTEP WERE UNDER ANOTHER SOVEREIGNTY. TURKEY SIMPLY COULD NOT HAVE "ARMED AIRCRAFT CARRIERS" SO CLOSE TO ITS SHORES. GIVEN THE ACTIONS THE GREEKS HAD TAKEN, IT WAS ESSENTIAL FOR TURKEY TO CAREFULLY MONITOR THE SITUATION TO SEE WHAT WAS GOING ON.

9. I SAID I HOPED THAT ANY MONITORING THAT THE TURKS DO COULD BE DONE IN A WAY SO AS NOT TO CONSTITUTE A COUNTER-PROVOCATION AND THEREBY EXACERBATE AN ALREADY DIFFICULT SITUATION. CAGLAYANGIL SAID THAT THE PROBLEM WAS THAT THE GREEKS AND TURKS HAD NOT REACHED AGREEMENT ON WHAT WAS AND WAS NOT GREEK AIRSPACE. I SAID THAT IF THE PLANES FLEW DIRECTLY OVER THE ISLANDS, HOWEVER, AT SOME POINT THEY OBVIOUSLY WERE INVADING GREEK AIRSPACE. CAGLAYANGIL RESPONDED THAT THE TURK MILITARY HAD TOLD HIM THAT ITS PLANES WERE NOT REPEAT NOT GOING OVER THE ISLANDS. RATHER THEY WERE CARRYING OUT THEIR SURVEILLANCE FROM AIRSPACE WHICH THE GOT DID NOT REGARD AS GREEK. I SAID THAT I

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HOPED THAT HE WOULD KEEP A CAREFUL EYE ON THESE FLIGHTS BECAUSE I WAS CONCERNED THAT ANY FLIGHTS DIRECTLY OVER THE ISLANDS WOULD BE VERY PROVOCATIVE IN TURN TO THE GREEKS.

10. OUR CONVERSATION THEN ENDED WITH OUR AGREEING THAT I WOULD BE IN TOUCH AS SOON AS THE VOTE OF CONFIDENCE HAD BEEN ACHIEVED IN ORDER TO WORK OUT MUTUALLY AGREEABLE TIMES FOR THE HARTMAN VISIT.

11. COMMENT: CAGLAYANGIL WAS SOMEWHAT PUZZLED BY THE EXACT NATURE OF THE HARTMAN VISIT. HE NEVERTHELESS MADE IT CLEAR THAT HARTMAN WOULD BE WELCOME AND HE ACCOMPANIED THIS BY AN OBVIOUSLY POSITIVE, IF GENERALLY WORDED, RESPONSE TO YOUR OVERALL MESSAGE. IT IS ENCOURAGING TO NOTE TOO, THAT IN HIS REMARKS IN THIS FIRST OFFICIAL MEETING BETWEEN US, HE DID NOT ONCE

REFER IN A NEGATIVE WAY, OR IN ANY WAY, TO THE MILITARY ASSISTANCE CUTOFF. (THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM DOES SO, HOWEVER, SEE EMBTEL 2755).

12. WITH RESPECT TO THE CONFIDENCE VOTE PARLIAMENTARY DEBATE ON THE GOVERNMENT'S PROGRAM WILL START WEDNESDAY, UNDER CONSTITUTIONAL RULES ANESFRIDAY, (APRIL 11), IS THE EARLIEST THAT THE VOTE CAN COME. BECAUSE THE VOTING LINEUP IS SO CLOSE, AND BECAUSE THERE IS A REAL POSSIBILITY THAT THEMSEFECTION OR REDEFECTION OF VERY FEW MEMBERS CAN DETERMINE THE OUTSOME, THE MANEUVERINGS WITHIN THE PARLIAMENT COULD DELAY THE VOTE INTO THE FOLLOWING WEEK. AS OF TODAY, MONDAY, APRIL 7, THE PROSPECTS STILL ARE THAT THE DEMIREL GOVERNMENT WILL GET ITS VOTE OF CONFIDENCE, BUT ONLY BY THE SLIMMEST OF MARGINS. THERE IS MUCH TALK IN POLITICAL CIRCLES, HOWEVER, THAT THE VOTE MAY END UP GOING AGAINST THE DEMIREIC COALITION.

13. I DID NOT TAKE ISSUE OVER CAGLAYANGIL'S ASSERTIONS REGARDING WHERE TURKISH PLANES ARE OR ARE NOT FLYING, BELIEVING IT PREFERABLE AT THIS STAGE INSTEAD TO SPEAK IN GENERAL TERMS OF THE NEED TO AVOID CLEARLY COUNTER-PROVOCATIVE ACTIONS.
MACOMBER

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